

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10  
L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00  
ICAE-00 INRE-00 HA-05 MCT-01 IO-13 /067 W  
-----030213 150741Z /10/70

O R 142030Z APR 78  
FM AMEMBASSY MBABANE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 4479  
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY GABORONE  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA  
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN  
AMCONSUL DURBAN  
AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG

C O N F I D E N T I A L MBABANE 1285

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (RENUMBERING PARA'S - FIVE PARA'S VICE  
SIX)

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINR, SHUM, WZ  
SUBJECT: GOS ACTS AGAINST PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS (PAC) SWAZILAND

1. SUMMARY. PRIME MINISTER MAPHEVU DLAMINI, MINISTER OF INDUSTRY,  
MINES AND TOURISM SIMON NXUMALO AND COMMISSIONER OF POLICE  
MTHETHWA CONFIRMED APRIL 14 THAT GOS HAD MOVED TO DETAIN  
AND EXPEL SELECTED PAC MEMBERS IN SWAZILAND (PAC/S) AT THE  
URGING OF PAC CENTRAL COMMITTEE IN DAR. PM SAID GOS COMMUNIQUE,  
READY ISSUANCE APRIL 15, WOULD MAKE CLEAR REASONS FOR  
GOS ACTION. MINISTER NXUMALO REFERRED TO PAC ACTIONS ENDANGERING  
GOS SECURITY AS FULLY JUSTIFYING GOS ACTIONS. UNHCR REP SABITI'S  
INFORMATION REINFORCES THE VIEW THAT INTERNAL PAC RIVALRIES  
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MADE POSSIBLE GOS ACTION. SABITI DOUBTS AFRICAN COUNTRIES WILL  
CRITICIZE GOS ACTION. END SUMMARY.

2. THIS AFTERNOON, (IN ACCORDANCE REF B), I HAVE HAD OCCASION  
(THANKS TO QUICK WORK OF ACTING DCM PERLOW) TO MEET PRIVATELY  
WITH UNHCR REP SABITI (UGANDAN NATIONAL) AND TO ATTEND RECEPTION  
WHERE I WAS ABLE TO TALK BRIEFLY WITH PM MAPHEVU

AND DISCUSS AT GREAT LENGTH WITH MINISTER NXUMALO AND POLICE COMMISSIONER MTHETHWA GOS GSO DETENTIONS OF PAC/S ACTIVISTS AND SWAZI SYMPATHIZERS. FROM THESE AND OTHER TALKS THERE BEGINS TO EMERGE BROAD AGREEMENT ON THE SEQUENCE OF EVENTS AND MOTIVATIONS THAT HAS LED TO GOS DETENTIONS OF PAC/S ACTIVISTS AND SWAZI SYMPATHIZERS.

3. PM COMMENTS. AT EVENING SOCIAL OCCASION, (TO WHICH AN INVITATION FOR ME WAS ARRANGED WITH ACTING DCM'S HELP), I HAD OPPORTUNITY TO TELL PM THAT MY PRESENCE WAS A REFLECTION OF CONCERN ABOUT REPORTED DETENTIONS BY GOS WITHOUT ANY EXPLANATION. I SAID TO ALL APPEARANCES GOS WAS ACTING WITHOUT REGARD TO HUMANITARIAN PRINCIPLES. PM REPLIED THAT HE WAS PLEASED I HAD COME AND VOICED CONCERN FELT IN U.S.G. CIRCLES. HE WANTED ME TO KNOW A STATEMENT HAD BEEN PREPARED FOR RELEASE APRIL 15; HE WOULD SEE THAT WE RECEIVED A COPY. MEANWHILE, HE WAS HAPPY TO TELL ME THAT THE PUBLIC STATEMENT WOULD BE REASSURING; IT MAKES CLEAR, HE SAID, THAT THE GOS ACTION WAS TAKEN AT THE URGING OF THE PAC CENTRAL COMMITTEE (PAC/CC) IN DAR. THE PAC IN SWAZILAND HAD DISOBEYED THE PAC/CC AND WAS "OUT OF CONTROL". I NOTED THOSE DETAINEES WERE NOT PAC ALONE BUT INCLUDED SWAZIS. PM SAID SOME SWAZIS WERE PAC/S ACCOMPLICES AND HAD INDEED BEEN DETAINED, BUT HE COULD ASSURE ME THEY WOULD BE TREATED "HUMANELY". INCLUDING VISITS BY FAMILIES? I ASKED. HE REPLIED WE COULD BE ASSURED VISITS WOULD BE PERMITTED. OUR DISCUSSION CONCLUDED WITH EXPRESSION OF HOPE WE MIGHT MEET APRIL 15 (IF HIS SCHEDULE PERMITS). HE WENT OUT OF CONFIDENTIAL

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HIS WAY UPON LEAVING TO THANK ME FOR COMING TO CONVEY PERSONALLY THE CONCERNS AROUSED BY GOS ACTIONS.

4. MINISTER NXUMALO, IN THE PRESENCE OF THE COMMISSIONER OF POLICE AND THE HEAD OF THE POLICE INTELLIGENCE BRANCH, NXUMALO GAVE ME AND ACTING DCM ADDITIONAL BACKGROUND ON THE GOS DECISION TO DETAIN AND EXPELL MOST PAC MEMBERS IN SWAZILAND. CONFIRMING INFO ALREADY REPORTED, NXUMALO STATED WITH AIR OF TOTAL CONFIDENCE THAT GOS, ACTED AT BEHEST OF PAC/CC. ITS HEAD, LIBALO, WHILE IN SWAZILAND, DENOUNCED MKHWANAYI AND ACTIVITIES OF PAC/S. NXUMALO SAID HE KNEW BECAUSE HE HAD BEEN PRESENT WHEN KING SOBUZA MET LIBALO. LIBALO CARRIED LETTERS PROVIDING NAMES OF PEOPLE PAC/CC WANTED OUSTED AND SIGNED 2 LETTERS (ACCORDING TO NXUMALO) AGREEING TO GOS DETENTION AND EXPULSION OF SELECTED PAC MEMBERS IN SWAZILAND. ASKED ABOUT SWAZIS WHO HAD ALSO BEEN DETAINED, NXUMALO AGREED THAT THERE WERE SWAZIS IN JAIL, BUT THIS WAS NECESSARY. THESE PEOPLE WERE PLANNING OVERTHROW OF GOS. WHEN ASKED WHETHER THEY WOULD BE CHARGED AND BROUGHT TO TRIAL, NXUMALO STATED THAT THEY WOULD BE DEALT WITH BY SWAZI LAW AND CUSTOM, "NOT AMERICAN, NOT BRITISH LAW." HE ASKED THAT WE UNDERSTAND AND NOT TRY TO FORCE SWAZILAND, THROUGH THE THREAT OF AID REDUCTIONS OR OTHER

MEANS, TO ADOPT AMERICAN LAW. WHEN QUERIED WHICH SWAZI LAWS AND CUSTOMS WERE INVOLVED, NXUMALO STATED THAT SWAZI LAW WAS MORE HUMANE THAN AMERICAN LAW, "SWAZI LAW IS THE LAW OF HOPE; WESTERN LAW IS THE LAW OF DESPAIR" NXUMALO EXPLAINED BY STATING THAT IF A SWAZI BROKE THE LAW AND WAS NOT BROUGHT TO TRIAL, HE COULD ALWAYS HOPE THAT THE KING WOULD FORGIVE HIM AND ISSUE A PARDON. BUT WHEN THE PERSON HAS BEEN TRIED AND SENTENCED, HE HAS A FIXED SENTENCE AND DESPAIRS OF EVER GETTING OUT. THIS ALSO MAKES IT FAR MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE KING TO PARDON A CONVICTED CRIMINAL.

COMMENT: WHEN THE VERBIAGE IS REMOVED, NXUMALO'S REMARK ALLOWS FOR THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE SWAZI DETAINEES ARE GOING TO BE HELD IN DETENTION FOR AN INDEFINITE PERIOD WITHOUT CHARGES. THEIR ONLY HOPE WILL BE TO WIN THE KINGS FORGIVENESS. END COMMENT.  
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VIGOROUSLY DEFENDING GOS ACTION NXUMALO SAID PAC WAS NOT ALLOWED TO OPERATE IN LESOTHO, IN BOTSWANA, MOZAMBIQUE OR ZAMBIA IMPLYING THAT THOSE COUNTRIES HAD RECOGNIZED DANGER OF PAC AND TAKEN SOME STEPS FOR WHICH GOS WAS NOW BEING VICTIMIZED. TURNING TO POLICE COMMISSIONER, NXUMALO ASKED IF HE HAD NOT BEEN SENT TO A FARM NEAR MOOIHOERF WHERE PAC HAD ARMS CACHES; HAD HE NOT FOUND ARMS? MTHETHWA NODDED AGREEMENT. THIS JUSTIFIED BEYOND ANY QUESTION THE SENCERITY OF GOS ACTION, NXUMALO CONCLUDED.

5. COMMENT. TH GOS LINE OF DEFENSE OF ITS ACTIONS IS BEGINNING TO EMERGE. WHILE IT IS NOT CLEAR HOW MUCH OF THE REALITY WILL BE REFLECTED IN PUBLIC STATEMENT, THE GOS APPEARS TO HAVE NO DOUBT PAC/CC ACCUSATIONS AGAINST PAC/S PROVIDES SUFFICIENT PUBLIC JUSTIFICATION FOR ITS ACTIONS. IN ADDITION, A CONSTANT (IF NOT ALWAYS EXPLICIT) THEME IS THAT PAC/S ACTIVISTS (ESPECIALLY ITS ARMS CACHES AND TRAINING) WAS ENDANGERING SWAZI NATIONAL SECURITY BY PROVIDING PRETEXT FOR SAG ATTACK. FURTHER BACKGROUND AND ANALYSIS, ALONG WITH RATIONALE FOR OWN PURSUING PRESENT COURSES OF ACTION, WHILE AVOIDING PUBLIC COMMENT, WILL BE FORTHCOMING TOMORROW.  
NORLAND

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## Message Attributes

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